

CONNECTIONS

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA AT CHAPEL HILL



CONNECTIONS is devoted to diversity and opportunity in Eastern Europe and Eurasia, published by the Duke-UNC Center for Slavic, Eurasian, and East European Studies, Durham and Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

Balkan Fever: Politics and Culture in the Former Yugoslavia

UNC's Center for Slavic, Eurasian, and East European Studies (CSEEEES) recently hosted several events focusing on the politics, histories and cultures of the countries of the former Yugoslavia. A workshop on the role of patriarchy, sexuality, and power in the culture of the region as well as a pair of lectures on the post-war political and security environment gave students, academics and local residents a glimpse into the complex dynamics of the countries, that made up 'Tito's' former socialist republic.

Patriarchy, Sexuality, and Power in Post-Yugoslav Culture



Dr. Michele Levy

On 15 April, CSEEEES hosted an interdisciplinary workshop examining three dominant themes in the culture of the former Yugoslavia. Initiated by Dr. Jacqueline Olich, the workshop was inspired by the Carolina Creative Campus Gender Project and sponsored by UNC's CSEEEES, Carolina Women's Center, and the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures. The afternoon program featured three presenters: Dr. Michele Levy (Professor, Department of English,

Balkan Experts Share Insights at UNC



Ambassador Douglas Davison

Two experts with significant experience in the Western Balkans recently visited UNC Chapel Hill as guests of CSEEEES. On April 6-7, 2009, David Tolbert, former Deputy Chief Prosecutor at the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (Hague Tribunal) and, more recently, Assistant Secretary General of the United Nations and special advisor to the U.N. Assistant to the Khmer Rouge Trials, was on campus. Currently, Mr. Tolbert is a Senior Fellow

Global Women's Health Luncheon Series

The second annual Global Women's Health Luncheon Series took place Tuesdays in April. Sponsored by UNC's CSEEEES and Carolina Women's Center, the series provided a forum for some UNC-based researchers to discuss their work on international women's health issues.

The first session of the series took place on 7 April and featured Rajeev Colaco and Zulfiya Chariyeva (Ph.D. candidates, UNC Gillings School of Global Public Health). The pair gave a lecture, "Hidden Stories: A Study of Sex Workers' HIV Risk Perceptions, Knowledge, and Behaviors in Turkmenistan," in which they detailed field research conducted from May to August 2006. They found that bar-based sex workers were much more likely than street workers to have knowledge of and protection against sexually transmitted infections (STI). Despite growing awareness, Colaco and Chariyeva suggested that the government in Ashgabat re-think its position and consider working with international NGO's.

Announcements

Congratulations to the 2009 Summer **UNC FLAS Fellowship** recipients: **Colin Biddle** (RUES) Serbo-Croatian; **Daniel Giblin** (History) Russian FLAS from Duke; **Hannah Harvester** (Folklore) Polish; **Angela Henderson** (RUES) Polish; **Mary Mellon** (History) Russian FLAS from Duke; **Scott Morrison** (Slavic Languages and Literatures) Russian; **Brandon Rice** (RUES) Russian FLAS from Duke; **Andrew Ringlee** (History) Russian; **John Robertson** (History) Czech; **Isaac White** (RUES) Serbo-Croatian.

Dr. Jacqueline Olich (CSEES/RUES) published her book, *Competing Ideologies and Children's Literature in Russia, 1918-1935*, and joined the international and interdisciplinary post-graduate research seminar, "Children's Culture: Norms, Values, Practices," at Russian State University for the Humanities, Moscow.

Two articles by **Dr. Milada Anna Vachudova** (Department of Political Science) were recently published: "Tempered by the EU? Political Parties and Party Systems Before and After Accession," *Journal of European Public Policy* 15, 6 (2008): 861-879; and "Center-Right Parties and Political Outcomes in East Central Europe," *Party Politics* 14, 4 (2008): 387-405.

Dr. Chad Bryant's (Department of History) book, *Prague in Black: Nazi Rule and Czech Nationalism*, received Honorable Mention for the Wayne S. Vucinich Prize awarded by the AAASS and won the 2008 Hans Rosenberg Prize awarded by the Conference Group for Central European History. Bryant will be a Research Fellow at the National Humanities Center for the 2009-2010 academic year.

Dr. Brent Wissick (Music Department) was in Poland during Spring Break of 2009 for concerts with the music group Collegio di Musica Sacra based in Wroclaw. The performances took place in Wroclaw, Warsaw, and Lodz and coincided with a joint meeting of the Bach Societies of Germany and Poland held at the University of Wroclaw.

2009 M.A. RUES Theses

This May, the Curriculum in Russian and East European Studies (RUES) saw six of its M.A. students successfully defend theses.

Nydia Fors

"Sochi 2014: Ecology, Sochi-ites 0 -Russian Civil Society 1?"
(Dr. Graeme Robertson advisor)

The Olympics are often framed as a catalyst for everything from urban (re)development to the embracing of democratic values. This paper aims to show that in a hybrid regime like Russia's, the 2014 Winter Games in Sochi could be a catalyst for civil society development. In the Russian manifestation of a hybrid, the state is constantly reviving old methods and learning new ones to keep the opposition and civil society in check while trying to maintain the illusion of democracy. In this context, Russian civil society is also learning new methods of dealing with the state and strengthening itself in the process. I argue that the Sochi Olympics, due to the acute environmental and housing issues they bring to the fore, coupled with the authorities' greater than usual abuse of power due to tight Olympic deadlines and international image upkeep, are already providing increased opportunities for local civil society development.

Jeffrey Gerring

"A Decoupage of Violence: The Harmonization of Collective Violence Theories"
(Dr. Robert Jenkins advisor)

Multiple theories have been put forth attempting to explain why collective violence occurs in certain transitioning states and why it doesn't in others. To date, these theories have adequately explained why collective violence occurs in individual test cases, but have failed to provide a model that can

be broadly applied to a variety of cases and to predict the probability of violence therein. In this thesis I review current theories and combine different aspects of them in order to present a new 'hybrid' theoretical model of predicting the probability of collective violence in states that are transitioning to Democracy. Each transitioning state will present its own set of unique challenges, but by understanding the basic framework and identifying common trends, it is possible to develop a loose model that will identify whether a state is at a high or low risk for collective violence. By blending positive aspects of multiple specific theories, I will present a new compound model based on existing theories that will aid in identifying potential collective violence in the future, and hopefully assist in preventing it.

Jessica Golliday

"Who's To Blame? The 2008 Georgia-Russia-South Ossetia Conflict"

(Dr. Graeme Robertson advisor)

It has been called the August War, the Five-Day War, the start of a new Cold War, and even "Europe's First War of the 21st Century". Whichever title one chooses, the bottom line is that this short war, which saw Georgian, Russian, and South Ossetian forces clash for five days in August 2008, has significant implications not just for the parties directly involved in the fighting, but also for the international community. This paper assesses the origins of the most recent conflict in South Ossetia as well as the response of the United States and the European Union. American social scientist Charles Tilly's book, "Credit and Blame," provides a useful

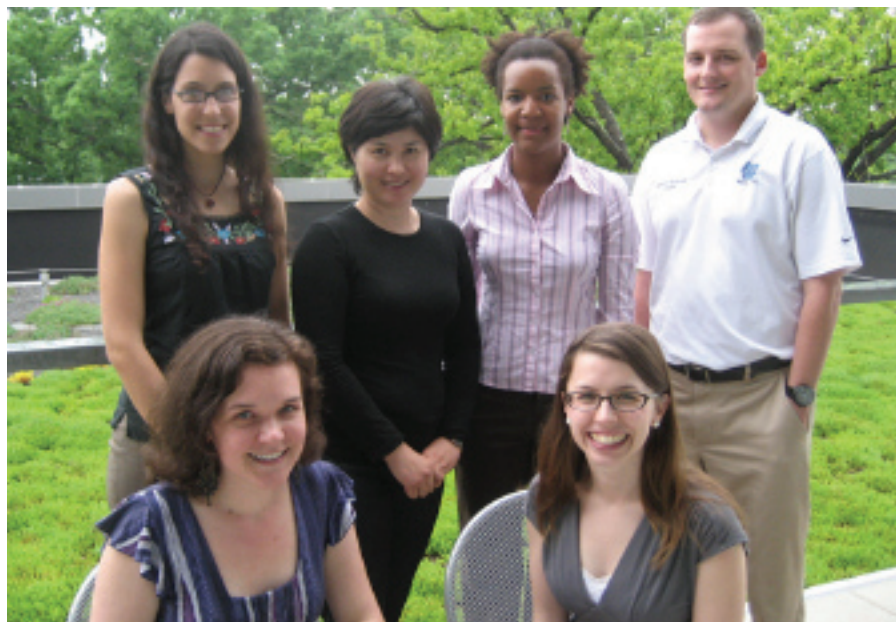
THESES CONTINUED FROM 2

and interesting framework for this analysis. With as many times as the word “blame” was thrown around during and after this conflict, it will help us to explore the nature of blame and how it affects the underlying tensions between Georgia, South Ossetia, and Russia as well as the international community’s interpretation of the conflict.

Zumrat Salmorbekova

“Promotion of Geopolitical Interests Through Military Intervention in Regional Conflicts: US/NATO Intervention in Former Yugoslavia in 1999 and Russian Incursion into Georgia in 2008”
(Dr. Robert Jenkins advisor)

The August 2008 Russian use of force against sovereign Georgia shocked the international community. The intervention triggered comparisons with the US-led NATO military intervention into the former Yugoslavia in 1999. This paper explores key foreign policy interests of the US and Russia and examines how these interests were expressed in these military interventions. The analysis revealed similarities in goals and differences in approaches. Both the US and Russia promoted their national geopolitical interests through military intervention. Nevertheless, there are considerable differences in their peace-mediation approaches with the involvement of international institutions preceding military intervention. The author believes that Russia’s incursion into Georgia sends a strong message to newly independent states, in particular Ukraine, about the possible consequences of seeking close relations with the West. Indeed, the building of mutual trust and understanding between the United States and Russia provides the best hope for overcoming future aggressive actions in response to other regional conflicts in the post-Soviet space.



Graduating students (Back: Nydia Fors, Zumrat Salmorbekova, Tabitha Walker, Jeffrey Gerring;

Front: Ashley Timidaiski, Jessica Golliday)

Ashley Timidaiski

“The Development of Poland’s Right: from Reliance on Historical Rivalries to Stable Party Platforms”
(Dr. Milada Vachudova advisor)

Many predicted that Poland’s developing political party system would favor a strong right wing due to several preexisting qualities: Poland’s less oppressive communist regime, the strong presence of the Catholic Church in Polish society, and the power of Solidarity - Poland’s exceptionally large anti-communist opposition movement. However Poland’s Right remained weak and fragmented for over a decade after the transition from communism. This thesis posits that the weakness of Poland’s Right was due to their reliance on historical rivalries between the Solidarity-successor and Communist-successor parties as a campaign platform instead of creating a cohesive political ideology under unified leadership, as was exemplified by the failed right-wing coalition of the 1990s, Solidarity Electoral Action. In conclusion, it was not until the 2005 and 2007 elections, when the Right was forced to compete against each other, that the historical rivalry strategy was abandoned, resulting in two stable mass parties on the Right.

Tabitha Walker

“The Distrust Paradox: Trust and Distrust in the Polish Online Press, Cross-National Data Reports and Public Opinion Surveys, 2002-2008”
(Dr. Jacqueline Olich advisor)

Poland’s overall economic, political and social situation is improving. However, in the realm of trust, the Polish press may be judging their countrymen and women too harshly. I argue that there is a disconnect between contemporary popular Polish press articles highlighting the extremely distrustful nature of Polish society and the cross-national data reports which prove that Poles are “in the middle of the pack” in comparison to other Eastern European countries when it comes to social trust. This disconnect, which I call the “distrust paradox,” is revealed in this study by comparing online media and data sources. This “distrust paradox” is not present in the academic discourse on Poland and other transitioning societies. Poland’s turbulent history accounts for a low level of trust in government, institutions, and other citizens, by Western standards. The press articles may be exaggerated, since optimism, societal trust and general life satisfaction are all on the rise.

Collections Corner

Contributed by Dr. Ernest Zitser

Duke University Libraries is proud to announce the publication of a new digital collection called "Americans in the Land of Lenin: Documentary Photographs of Early Soviet Russia, 1919-1930" <<http://library.duke.edu/digitalcollections/esr/>>. This collection of 750 photographs of daily life in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is drawn from the personal papers of Robert L. Eichelberger and Frank Whitson Fetter, two Americans who found themselves in an extraordinary place and time. Both men left unique photos of their encounters with ordinary individuals of the self-proclaimed first socialist country in the world. Their images of life in the Soviet provinces between the World Wars reveal an agrarian, multi-ethnic country, still reeling under the impact of the revolutionary forces unleashed at the beginning of the 20th-century. This collection complements the resources in the University of Michigan's "Polar Bear Expedition Digital Collections" as well as UNC-CH "Russia Beyond Russia Digital Library."

Additional information about the American Expeditionary Force photos of the Russian Civil War is available in "'A Dirty Place for Americans to Be': Images of the Russian Civil War in Siberia from the Robert L. Eichelberger Collection at Duke University Libraries," *Slavic & East European Information Resources*, 10 (2009): 29-44 <http://library.duke.edu/digitalcollections/esr/dirty_place_for_americans-to_be_final.pdf>.

For more information about the collection, contact: Ernest Zitser, Ph.D., Librarian for Slavic and Eastern European Studies, Duke University, Phone: 919-660-5847; E-mail: ernest.zitser@duke.edu.

PATRIARCHY CONTINUED FROM 1

NC A&T State University), Marko Dumančić (Ph.D. Candidate, Department of History, UNC) and Krešimir Krolo (JFDP Visiting Scholar at CSEEEES and lecturer, Department of Sociology, University of Zadar).

Dr. Levy's talk, "Patriarchy and Power in Some Recent Works by Post-Yugoslav Women Writers," addressed the notion of certain binaries in the "Third Space"--Western Europe and Eastern Europe; the colonizer and the colonized; male and female; heterosexual and homosexual; Croatian and Serbian. In her talk, Dr. Levy highlighted the opposition of such binaries throughout literature of the region, arguing that patriarchy determines gender roles and sexual prohibitions. It is those roles and prohibitions that post-Yugoslav women writers resist in their essays and novels. To illustrate this, she read excerpts from Slavenka Drakulić, Dubravka Ugrešić and Vedrana Rudan.

Marko Dumančić was the second speaker. In his talk, "Queering National Identities in Post-Yugoslav Film," he pointed out that over the past twenty years, eight films have had a homosexual character at the center of the story. He presented clips from post-Yugoslav films such as, "20 Centimeters", "Marble Ass", "Go West" and "Fine Dead Girls," that represented sexuality in different ways. In the end, Dumančić concluded that such films are a first step in the direction of a more tolerant, understanding society.

The final presentation was given by Krešimir Krolo. Throughout his talk, "Le Zbor and Qlapa: Challenging Patriarchal Femininity and Masculinity in Traditional Croatian Music," Krolo noted that following independence, resurgent nationalism and war, a retraditionalization in Croatian society and culture took place. However, he used the examples of Qlapa, a subversive play, and Le Zbor, an all-female choir, to show that there are some groups working to challenge the traditional notions of masculine identity in Croatia.

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at the United States Institute of Peace. Two weeks later, on April 20, CSEEEES hosted Ambassador Douglas Davidson, former Head of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) Mission to Bosnia-Herzegovina and currently Distinguished Visiting Fellow at the German Marshall Fund of the United States. CSEEEES Director Robert Jenkins acclaimed the stature of the guests: "To have two such distinguished representatives of U.S. efforts in the Balkans be accessible to UNC students is really an honor."

While finishing his tenure at the Hague Tribunal as a prosecutor, Mr. Tolbert served in all three of its principal organs: Registry, Trial Chambers, and Prosecution. These experiences give him a unique perspective on the operation of the Tribunal, which he shared with students and faculty during an informal luncheon, at which he also spoke about operation of the Cambodia trials.

During his lecture, "1990s Wars in the former Yugoslavia and the Role of Justice," Mr. Tolbert noted that among the positive achievements of the Hague Tribunal have been bringing a measure of justice to victims, creating a better reckoning with and clearer record of the past, and providing a basis for the operation of the International Criminal Court. He observed that despite its grounding in Chapter VII of the U.N. Charter and consequent legally binding nature of its orders, the Hague Tribunal has no coercive powers of its own and therefore must rely upon the cooperation of states for its operation. The need to obtain cooperation from other states requires that the prosecution have a political strategy in addition to a legal one. Making European Union membership conditional on cooperation with the Tribunal is the fundamental political strategy that has emerged.

In addition to his presentations at

YUGO CONTINUED ON 5

YUGO CONTINUED FROM 4

CSEEEs, Mr. Tolbert also spoke to Professor Donna Lefevbre's "International Law and Human Rights" honors seminar in Political Science. Mr. Tolbert is a 1982 graduate of the UNC School of Law.

Ambassador Davidson also met with students and faculty at an informal luncheon during his visit. His lecture, "A Few Bumps in the Road: Obstacles to State-Building in Bosnia and Herzegovina," began by emphasizing the importance of the concept of ethnicity in Bosnia-Herzegovina. He noted that the Dayton Agreement, which brought an end to war in the country in 1995, created a constitution that recognized three "constituent peoples," each considering itself a "nation" or ethnic group with special group rights. This constitutional recognition of ethnicity was embedded in the citizenship concept of communist-era Yugoslavia and has had the consequence that group rights have had precedence over individual rights.

Another consequence of the Dayton Agreement noted by Ambassador Davidson is the division of Bosnia-Herzegovina into two political entities, one largely ethnic Serb and the other a confederation between Croats and Bosniaks (Muslims). The three ethnic groups seek different political goals within this structure. In this environment, cooperation depends heavily on external intervention. The international community has sought state building reforms that would increase the powers of the central government and pave the way for integration into the European Union. However, since 2006, progress toward these goals has ground to a halt. Ambassador Davidson reflected that shared interests and shared identity were necessary for political cooperation. He sees a shake up of the political imagination as necessary to achieve such cooperation, however he did not detail how such a shake up might arise.

HEALTH CONTINUED FROM 1



Major Robert Carver speaking at the roundtable event on 21 April

Sarah Lowman (MPH, Center for Aging and Health, UNC School of Medicine) delivered the second lecture, "Growing Old in North Carolina: Listening to Russian-Speaking and Hmong Women." Her research indicates that in contrast to the Hmong people, Russian-speaking women tended to be closer to and cared for by their children, which in turn helped them be more social later in life.

The third Tuesday in April was the date for "Roundtable: The North Carolina-Moldova State Partnership Program," which was moderated by Brenda McAdams Motsinger (Director of Special Projects, Office of the Dean, UNC Gillings School of Global Public Health) and featured numerous panelists. Dr. Jane Perrin spoke about the troubles facing women dealing with domestic violence issues in Moldova. Major Robert Carver (NC National Guard) described and explained the North Carolina-Moldova State Partnership Program. Dr. Sharon Weir discussed HIV/AIDS in Moldova. UNC Women's Soccer Coach Anson Dorrance

discussed his involvement in a project with Tom Ricketts (Professor of Health Policy and Management, UNC Gillings School of Global Public Health) that promotes women's empowerment through soccer. Thanks to their efforts, three young women from Moldova have been able to travel to North Carolina to participate in soccer camps here.

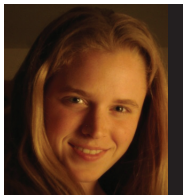
Wrapping up the April luncheon series was Dr. Ema Hresanova's (Fulbright Student Researcher, Department of Anthropology; lecturer, University of West Bohemia in Pilsen) talk, "Maternal Health in the Post-Socialist Czech Republic: Politics and Interactions." Dr. Hresanova recounted the history of maternity care in the Czech Republic, detailed some ethnographic research on the topic and discussed the politics of childbirth education.

The interdisciplinary series succeeded in creating productive dialog between specialists and area studies experts on global women's health. If you would like to know more about any of the presenters or topics discussed, please visit our website.

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COLLEGE OF ARTS & SCIENCES

Student Spotlight: Brooke Hoffman

*"With the world growing smaller
everyday, promoting language and cultural
understanding is becoming essential to a
peaceful coexistence with other countries."*



Brooke Hoffman

Brooke Taylor Hoffman recently received the National Security Education Program's David L. Boren Scholarship to study regions of special interest to the U.S. government. She will study Russian at Kazan State University (KSU) in Kazan, Russia,

the capital city of the Republic of Tartarstan. Brooke, whose father is a UNC Chapel Hill alumnus, is a sophomore majoring in Russian Language and Culture, and Political Science. She will be living and studying at KSU this coming year. While she is there, Brooke plans to do a research project/photo story on orphans and street children in Kazan.

Additionally, this year's spring

issue of *The Birch*, an undergraduate journal of Eastern European and Eurasian culture, includes photos by Brooke. *The Birch*, the country's first and only undergraduate-run journal of Slavic culture, is published by students at Columbia University. The photos being published are from her time abroad in Vladivostok, Russia, where she lived during the 2006-07 school year.

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